361 823 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the [887] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nsâlang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[769] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 592 64 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/. The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

361 children grow up, their father builds each one a house of his own
572 next to the original dwelling. In the same way, each of his addi-
621 tional wives receives her own house from him. His first wife, how-ever, remains his favorite wife, and consequently it is her house -- in other words, the one that he built first and which is adjacent to the meeting house -- which remains his home. He keeps it even after the death of the wife.

The next step in the development toward a village takes place when, for some reason or other, a second head of a family joins his establishment to that of the first. This happens, for instance, when a member of the same or of another family unit moves in, or when after the death of the father the eldest son inherits his meeting house, dwellings, and wives, and the younger son is unwilling to submit to his older brother who is now also his chief. He or the new arrival, as the case may be, builds the necessary number of houses for himself and his family along the same row. Sometimes he may even build his houses directly /57/ /Fig. 17/ adjacent to the existing houses, and he will likewise finish off his settlement with a meeting house protruding from the line. If the meeting house is a temporary one, it is placed lengthwise in the square (see Fig. 16); if it is a permanent one, it is placed transversely (see Plate 4).

In this way, a "village" arises from the original individual establishment, and because, like a pair of eyes (dzîs; plural, mîs), it consists of two halves (Fig. 18), the village is called dzâ, plural mâ (see what has been said about the meaning of prefixes /not translated/. There are, thus, two family heads in each village; their rows of houses join somewhere in the middle, with a boundary line which is recognizable, of course, only to the initiated. Everyone, however, can see the two meeting houses (belonging to the two heads of family) located on opposite sides of the village square.

The two family heads are legally equals. Certain conditions, however, which we shall discuss more fully in a later section, give one of the heads a position of slight superiority. Sometimes a third establishment is added to the two individual establishments constituting the village, and it also has adjoining rows of houses as well as a meeting house (see Fig. 18).

361 As has been said, the meeting house is the principal haunt of
621 the chief; in the same way it serves all his sons, male relatives,
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Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

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and followers who help him with its construction and have a permanent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix a in abã́, "meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of the word a-bã́ I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I

1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

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Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establishment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

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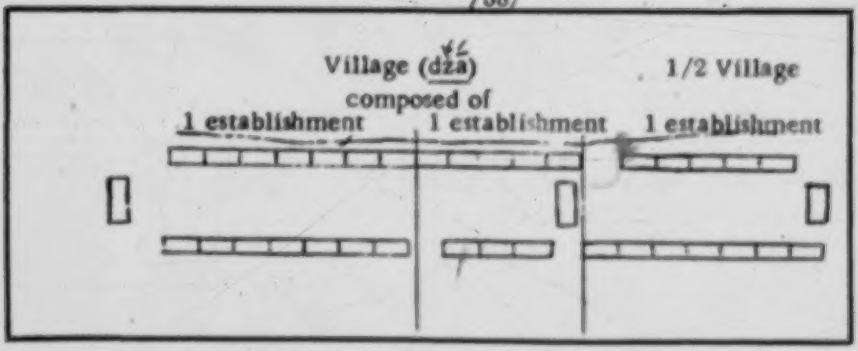

Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

ézók e tsídan ebɛ́ɛ́-asɛ́ɛ́, a yɛ oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

atɛ́ɛ́, a nɛ́ oa adzíí
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

563 who, being related to the coastal minorities, constitute the "aristocratic race" of the country, and, having become relatively hierarchical, has known how to "preserve its position." (2)

2. Rapport Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 3e trimestre [Third Quarter], 1935.

162 Though the Fang "have settled in a haphazard manner and a little everywhere," they have nevertheless formed two important centers of population, on the Ogooué above Lambaréné and in the area around the southern lakes. (3) They represent more than 35 percent

3 Rapport. Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 4e trimestre [Fourth Quarter], 1935.

of the population (17,500 inhabitants) in this district of multiple ethnic groups, which in 1936 had one fifth of its inhabitants settled at the lumber works. The Fang villages here consist of 35 clans or 621 fragments, about half of the population forming a homogeneous 619 clan, while the other [85] half is composite. Apart from the Yémvog, most of the existing tribes are not found (or are unimportant) in the Woleu-N'Tem [region]. The most numerous elements seem to originate from the Ivindo. Although they reached the region forming the present-day district of Port-Gentil at the end of their push, the Fang have not succeeded in evicting the dominant ethnic groups, the Ouroungou and the Nkomi.

Region of the Estuary

162 We have already stated that the date of the arrival of the Fang at the Estuary can be set at 1850. At that time they replaced the residual coastal groupings, particularly the Bakélé who, after abandoning the Ogooué, had to leave the Como. Since 1900 the population of this region has been "nearly entirely composed of

619 opinion -- but we can remember from the facts reported by Father
776 Trilles the indication that a protecting being, a body of religious
178 material (akamayon), a collection of symbols, and a body of beliefs and legends gave a uniformity, other than a genealogical one, to the Fang clans.

619 The agnate lines of descent with a more or less limited num-
621 ber of generations have played, and still play, an important role. Around them are organized the groupings forming the village or village groups which were established by the nomadic groups noted by the first observers. In this respect the history of progressive distribution throughout Gabon is significant. We will give the example of the Yéngwi, of which a fragment represented by twenty-five villages is established in the Oyem region in the Woleu-N'Tem. They are all attached to an ancestor called Esbob Angb, who is said to have come from the legendary place Adza Mbura and to have led the first journeys through the South Cameroons. He is still considered the founder (abial) of the groupings existing today. These, consisting of about 3,300 individuals, are especially concentrated in the southern part of Kyé-Nyé, Canton, north of the Woleu River. Starting from this region where the first Yéngwi villages were established and where a compact nucleus of more than [106] 1,500 individuals is still in existence, a great migration took place in the direction of present-day Spanish Guinea (in to villages) from the mouth of the N'Tem, the Ogooué, and the Gabon. The large grouping thus formed by the lines issued from Esbob Angb and settled at the level of a demarcated region constitutes an abial a bot, or major linage. Although these lines are spread out through ten generations, there exist real bonds between members of the grouping, even if their "kinship" goes back to Esbob Angb, and which are sufficient to make possible the aggregation of dissident elements from one village to another.

The word abial implies an idea of localization. It may signify "place of birth," "place of origin." (1) The groupings called

1. Cf. Mgr. L. Martrou, Lexique Fan-Français [Fang-French Lexicon], Paris, Procure Générale, not dated.

614 621 abial ɛ bòt are distinguishable by a double criterion, one genealogical – a limited but definite localization. All those that we have studied in Woleu-N'Tem relate themselves to an ancestor who led the last migrations through the present-day Cameroons, and enabled (or realized) the crossing of the N'Tem, and to the first settlements beyond this river, from which each clan fragment spread out and migrated. In the case of the just mentioned Yéngwi, Esɔnɔ Angɔ established the first village created south of the N'Tem; his two sons, Mɔnɔmvɔgɔ Esɔnɔ (the eldest) and Nsim Esɔnɔ, after having lived for some time in the midst of the same grouping, separated and founded the first two Yéngwi villages of the Oyem region. From these two centers the lineages began to organize themselves independently, from the third generation on, and to distribute themselves as is shown in Fig. 5.

Before the administration had transformed, for reasons of its own benefit, the reality of the village, recomposing and displacing it, the village corresponded to the men issued from one line of descent, including a variable number of generations, and to those clients [dependents]. The Yéngwi village of Ebiane, for example, still includes the major portion of the lineage born of Egwaga Mɔnɔmvɔgɔ, second son of Mɔnɔmvɔgɔ Esɔnɔ, – which goes back for eight generations. The only unattached elements created the present-day small villages of Nkoum and Bibasse (22 and 65 inhabitants), which have remained on the outskirts of the original grouping. But the village itself, [107] [Fig. 5.] [108 and 109] [Fig. 6] [110] as soon as it has reached an average size, includes a definite number of minor lineages which represent the still present posterity of the group of real brothers and of half brothers (bɔbɛ́nɛ́g) who formed the initial cell. Ebiane has three of these minor lineages that coincide with the three lines of descent issued from the three sons of Egwaga Mɔnɔmvɔgɔ, and are named after them. These are the previously mentioned ndɛ́ bòt – this term containing the idea of descent, the minor lineages found at the base of the hierarchy of the groupings (see Fig 6, for an example of their distribution in the midst of a group of Kɔ̀ɔ̀ villages established in the vicinity of Oyem).

614 551 Incidentally, the method of naming peculiar to the Fang is evidence of a fundamental social segment, the group of brothers, real and half (siblings and half-siblings). Thus there are the sons of Bitòǧò Ökwo who form the "heads" of four minor lineages still in existence:

The names themselves emphasize this double orientation, the vertical showing the real filiation and the horizontal showing the real brotherhood, which characterizes Fang social structure. Around such a horizontal segment the village (in this particular case Sam village) is constituted, and inside such a segment are produced the fissions giving birth to separate lineages. From the clan to the minor lineage the groupings must be defined in terms of these two dimensions, thus showing a structure that could be called both segmental and interlocked.

614 578 621 But this overlapping is not sufficient to bind the groupings together and to impose a hierarchy. Ruptures have been frequent and can be explained by the mechanism of Fang expansion, by economic factors, and by causes of a structural nature. By analyzing the lineages settled at the level of a fixed region, one notes that those whose origin goes back to an eldest son (ntôi-môt are larger in number and are the basis of the local population. The Yèngwi studied above show this very specifically!

618 [112] Yèngwi in the Vicinity of Oyem
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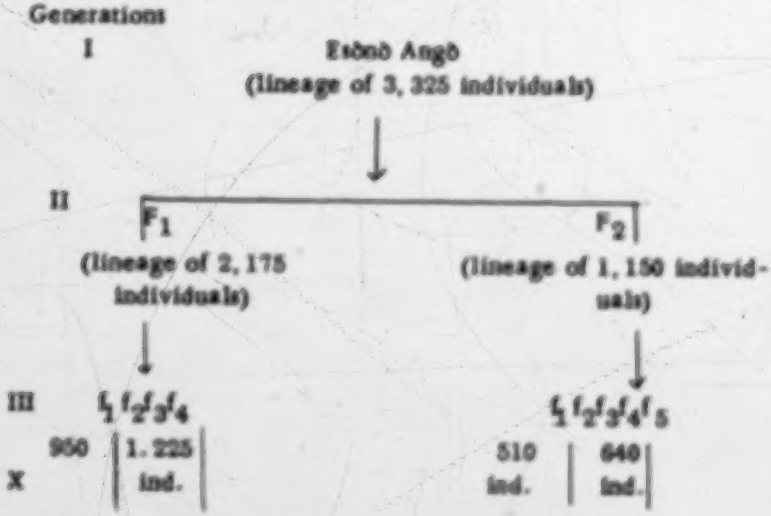

Each of the definitely located clan fragments reveals the existence of two groupings which are in a state of latent antagonism, which is shown, geographically, by the separate villages. The cleavage is such that at the time of the recent movement for regrouping villages, initiated entirely by the natives, each of the two antinomic elements refused to join together in order to create larger and more modernized village units. (1) Every time the

1. At the time of our investigation of a Kòjé grouping, for example, most of our informants asserted tirelessly that "the village will break apart if all the Kòjé mingle."

fission has been carried out between lineages issued from an "eldest" and the lineages issued from younger brothers. The five clan groupings studied in the Oyem region revealed this rupture -- going back to the time of their settlement in the country -- with irrefutable clarity (see Table V).

S: Balandier--49 E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

Table V

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Clans	Groupings descended from the eldest	Groupings descended from younger son or sons	Villages corresponding to the first grouping	Villages corresponding to the second grouping
Yégnwi	Lineage of Mɔ̀nɔ̀mɔ̀gɔ̀ Ésɔ̀nɔ̀	Lineage of Nsim Esɔ̀nɔ̀	Ebiane, etc...	Zorongone, etc...
Effak	Lineage of Ngu Mɛ̂mvé	Lineage of Mɔ̂ndu Mɛ̂mvé	Nto, etc..	Mékomo, etc...
Oɛ̂ip	Lineage of Enduma Eswa	Lineage of Emvélé	Nkang	Mbenga, etc...
Yébimvé	Lineage of Ekɔ̀rɔ̀ Mési	Lineage of Obiré Mési	Aféname, etc...	Angone, etc...
Koɛ̂	Lineage of Mɔ̂nɔ̀gɔ̀ Mɔ̂mbé	Lineages of five younger sons	Nto, etc...	Mbomo, etc...

[113] This state of tension, bringing about more or less real fissions, is bound up with a social organization which gives economic and political pre-eminence to the "eldest," [sons] which favors the lineages issued from them, and which, above all, is not hierarchic for the purpose of maintaining the cohesion of groupings, except as needed for defense and expansion, and except for the prestige of temporary "chiefs." The desire for independence manifested by the heads of lineages as soon as their grouping has become fairly large is not controlled in an organized manner. Studies conducted during the first years of this century, especially those of Martrou and Trilles, all insist on the process of fragmentation of

lineages which is more marked as the Fang become unattached conquerors. In the same way frequent examples have been given of extensive agglomerations being broken up after the death of the "chief" who had founded and maintained them. The size and cohesion of the groupings appear therefore in a large measure to depend on the personality of the leaders who have asserted themselves (for any rightful succession may be contested under pretext of incapacity, or it may be refused) and on circumstances. This explains in part the frequency of fissions observed by various authors at the level of the third or fourth generation. (1) The size

1. Particularly, E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," op. cit.

of localized groupings may therefore vary a great deal -- especially since the pacification of the country -- going from the major lineage expressed in "clan patches" to the minor lineage (nd'ê bôt) forming an isolated hamlet.

Kinship

Our analysis of Fang society has so far considered groupings only in terms of two fundamental elements: paternal filiation and real fraternity. We must now examine the bonds created and the relations prescribed by other modalities of kinship, as well as by the alliances that may exist between "foreign" groupings as a result of marriages.

Through the medium of his father (ésa, whom he calls taga) and of his mother (nya, whom he calls nanô), the individual belongs to two kinship groupings, the paternal (ésinyâg) and the maternal (dzînanô). For the young Fang these two have neither the same significance nor the same importance. [114] The course of his life will generally be spent in the midst of the first group, while he has only incidental relations with the "relatives." of the second group. It is from the first that he receives his clan affiliation. The fundamental relations of paternal kinship are governed,

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783 "men's society" and the rite allied to the makuma dance characteristic of this society.

Marriage creates the so-called "restricted" or "individual" family. This has no special name and represents the smallest grouping in which communal life takes place. The husband and wife are nomɔ̃ and nga to each other — these two terms stressing the biological character of the union since they also signify male and female. His parents-in-law are minki [128] or nkia, "he who has received the bride price," a word recalling the seal that has validated the union. In the same way the term mbɔ̀m, meaning "newly married woman whose bride price has just been paid," is used to designate the daughter-in-law, and has the same context. The principle already mentioned of the pre-eminence attached to seniority subsists in the relations with the abè. For the husband the wife's eldest sister is mînki (mother-in-law) while the younger sister is ngɔ̀m zam (my daughter). On a similar pre-eminence is based the authority of the first wife over the other wives; while the former is nanɔ̃ (mother) the others are mbɔ̀m (daughter-in-law) — which explains her role of directing the various jobs and moral responsibilities entrusted to her. Finally, the personal element at the level of these relations is perfectly symbolized by the position accorded to the preferred wife (nluga or ntômba). This astonished one of the first administrators of the Fang country, who wrote: "While they usually profess great indifference toward their wives and have no scruples over renting or lending them out, they have a rather keen affection for the companion whom they choose as 'favorite.'" (1) This is the least socialized part and manifests re-

1. Archives for the Year 1905, Libreville.

lations that have a certain spontaneity between the two elements associated by marriage.

Residential Units

621 The colonial government has acknowledged only a "collection" of villages in the Fang country, giving this name to the

621 groupings, whatever their size, settled in a definite spot and occupying a limited area. Referring to observations made in the past, the Fang apparently distinguished definitely two types of these units: the ẓal, "inhabited only by the family of the ésa (chief or patriarch) his kin and his clients [dependents]" and the mfaḅ, "where several families gather together without mingling together . . . ," the different parts being "separated by guardhouses built in the center of the single street. . . ." (2) It is easy to see

2. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Village.

by this statement that the nd'ê bòt (minor lineage) formed the fundamental element, as is seen by sections or quarters definitely marked out. The numerous concentrations were most often conditioned by reasons of security (they were mostly found on the frontiers [129] of the Fang country at the period of conquest) or by the power of aggregation of a strong personality. (1) They repre-

1. Maignan in his Études sur le Pays Pahouin [Studies of the Pahouin Country], op. cit., refers to such a power held by "him who, by his age, his experience, his eloquence, his wealth . . . is the most capable of protecting the interests of all."

sented more or less extended lineages. L. Martrou points out that all the members of these villages "go back through four or five ancestors to a common paternal founder." (2)

2. Father L. Martrou, "Le nomadisme des Fangs [Nomadism of the Fangs]," Revue de Géographie, Vol. 3, 1909.

621 166 Early works and documents show the village grouping to be an eminently mobile unit. Father Trilles gives the example of a village

621 166 that accomplished a migration of 500 kilometers with the same chief (1910), and Dr. Aujoulat mentions a grouping which in twenty years moved over 200 kilometers (1935). These are characteristics of a seminomadic people and not of a peasant people. For a long time the government ran up against what it called the "migratory mania" of the Fang. The law in Gabon manifests a lack of attachment to cultivated land which underlines this instability. L. Martrou points out that there is no definite appropriation of the places for cultivation, hunting, or fishing; there exist only "zones of influence" with uncertain boundaries. (3)

3. Father L. Martrou, "Le nomadisme des Fangs [Nomadism of the Fangs]," op. cit.

166 The geographer, J. Brunhes, basing his judgment on these facts, made of the Fang a type of Naturvoelker [nature folk] and claimed that "the most general causes of the migrations... resulted from destructive occupation." (4) It is essential to correct

4. J. Brunhes, La Geographie Humaine [Human Geography], abridged edition, Paris, 1942, pp. 199-204.

here an opinion based on insufficient information, which will lead us to observations valuable for our analysis. At various times we have specifically stated that there exist some Fang centers settled a long time ago in a limited region (in Woleu-N'tem). (5) We

5. Confirmed by Captain Maignan, op. cit., who draws attention to villages "occupying the same land for more than a century," (study dated 1912).

have shown how echeloning took place, starting from regular "migratory centers," and have indicated the manner in which the

166 early as the middle of the last century the explorer Du Chaillu noted how this warlike pressure was completed by peaceful conquest by means of "alliances" created by marriage with foreigners. (4) Dr. Cureau, fifty years later, pointed out that the

> 4. Father Du Chaillu, op. cit., "... for their part the Fang, far away from the European commerce much coveted by them, are happy to acquire a son-in-law nearer the coast. So I suspect that in a few years they will succeed in contracting marriages with other tribes on a very large scale."

control of the Ogooué trade had passed into the hands of the Fang peoples. (5) With settlement in Gabon, the economy of the Fang

> 5. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 294.

groupings takes on a double orientation: it comes in contact with the forest peoples who are essentially hunters and collectors of trading produce, and it transforms its movement of expansion into an attempt to seize the trade of Lower Gabon. One might say that French colonization has prevented a sort of Fang colonization in this region. While this double task of conquest and trade depends on the men, the economy of subsistence is to all intents and purposes left to the women. On this basis [131] the division of labor is established, leaving to the men alone the means of acquiring wealth and capital.

166 621 361 Such elements help us to understand the relative mobility of the groupings. A people that has no concern for agriculture would have no strong attachment for land that is equally fertile in any part of the forest. (1) In another respect the characteristic of a

> 1. See what was still said in 1934 by the administrator Le Testu (one of the best observers of the men and the country): "Lacking any taste for working the

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land, which the Pahouin will never acquire, for he considers it humiliating, he will perhaps develop a taste for the profit resulting from this work."

conquering society has imposed on the old Fang village an appearance which has often been mentioned: two uninterrupted rows (nkara) of huts surrounding a kind of courtyard closed at each end [712] by a "guardhouse" (abɛ̂nɔ̂); sometimes a palisade of posts enclosing a banana plantation serves as a protection in the rear. Inside the huts there is only a limited amount of things which are easily [352] transportable: "goods" of value are stored in chests, the ancestors' altars (bɛ́fri) are kept in large cylindrical boxes. (2) There is no

2. Very similar to the "baskets of ancestors" carried by the Ba-kongo during their great migrations.

doubt that the grouping lived for a long time in a state of insecurity. This was primarily the factor which intervened to maintain a minimum size without which there was no real security. The causes contributing to the breaking up of groups, the organization of Fang society itself, the search for women and goods, and, finally, the agricultural methods, were dominated and largely impeded by this necessity. It appears certain that really large villages existed at the beginning of French occupation. V. Largeau refers to mfaŋ with eight or ten "guardhouses"; F. Grébert speaks of ten to twenty of these "guardhouses," (3) and F. Meyé asserts

3. F. Grébert. Au Gabon [In the Gabon], Paris, 1932.

that "the normal population of a village was from 80 to 170 warriors, exclusive of women and adolescents." (4) According to estimates

4. Quoted by G. Sautter, op. cit., p. 124.

made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes: "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day long," (3) without being able to enter the abèñõ, which is absolutely

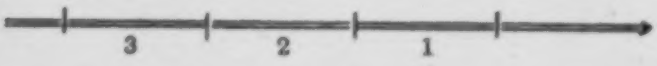
3. Travels in West Africa, p. 154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñõ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage, lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most important interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'è bòt assemble in the abèñõ, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñõ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

621 562 571 participation in the same tasks, tends – if one may venture the play on words – to the confusion of its members. On the other hand, the women it controls do not form such a coherent whole; they represent different clans, different modalities of kinship; they are the center of virtual conflicts (between female "relatives" and female "relations by marriage," between co-wives); except for the wives of the same man, who live together, they do not have a common living place.

621 571 578 614 The nd'ɛ̀ bòt – and, more precisely, this virile whole made up of relatives belonging to the same guardhouse (abɛ̀nɔ̄) – harbors, however, latent antagonisms, which are the result of the privilege linked with ancestry [133] or seniority. These tensions can come to a head when disputes arise usually from economic causes, such as circulation of wealth or of women, or allocation of farming land. They help to explain the very variable size of the groupings considered as villages, and the phenomena of aggregation and disintegration of the latter according to circumstances. But both of these movements are effected as a function of the minor lineage which is the nd'ɛ̀ bòt.

621 571 614 This grouping may by itself constitute a separate unit of about ten persons or a village with up to a hundred inhabitants. When a village is old, with a large population (200 to 300 persons or more), it cannot remain organized around a single common hearth. It is arranged around several centers corresponding to the sons of the founder or their successors. Thus the village of Ebiane (Yéngwi in the vicinity of Oyem) has 235 inhabitants distributed in three groups representing the respective posterity of three brothers. We have already stressed the fact that the heads of minor lineages are at the level of the same segment. The village of Afénane (Yébimvé of the Oyem region) with more than 300 inhabitants also consists of the posterity of three brothers, and each of the nd'ɛ̀ bòt occupies a definite position on the village street, according to the following diagram:



621 571 614 The groupings are located according to the order of their pre-eminence, that of the eldest being at the back in direct contact with the chief's hut. Also, grouping 1 does not represent the whole of the lineage descended from the eldest brother (Ekòrò Ngòm); the latter divided at the level of the sons of Ekòrò Ngòm into three elements, of which one is at Afénane and the two others make up the very close villages of Mesia (139 inhabitants) and M'Fagne (97 inhabitants).

621 571 578 614 This whole Yébimvé group, consisting in a limited area of nearly 1,000 persons, is interesting to the extent that it shows how the "major" lineages (which we have described above under the name of abial è bòt) and the "minor" ones determine residence in a definite zone and a village. Two brothers led a migratory group [136] of Yébimvé from the Cameroons to the territory occupied today by their posterity. A conflict arising from the unequal distribution of the women acquired from foreign villages lead to the first rupture. Each of the two brothers moved away with the group he controlled, and the memory of past antagonisms has remained sufficiently alive to prevent any attempt today at recombining the members.

621 571 614 The initial cleavage can be presented in the following manner: (Table VII on following page.)

The cleavage is expressed in relation to a common origin (A) which represents the head of the "major" lineage and gives rise to the first rupture which we mark with a double line. The two nd'è bòt have separated and settled in spite of all in adjacent regions. But these groupings have themselves been subject to new fragmentations since then. We represent the second of these where they occur [135] at the level of the third generations (after III, V, and VII), giving rise to the creation of villages very close to one another and able to co-operate and, above all, to regroup if required by circumstances.

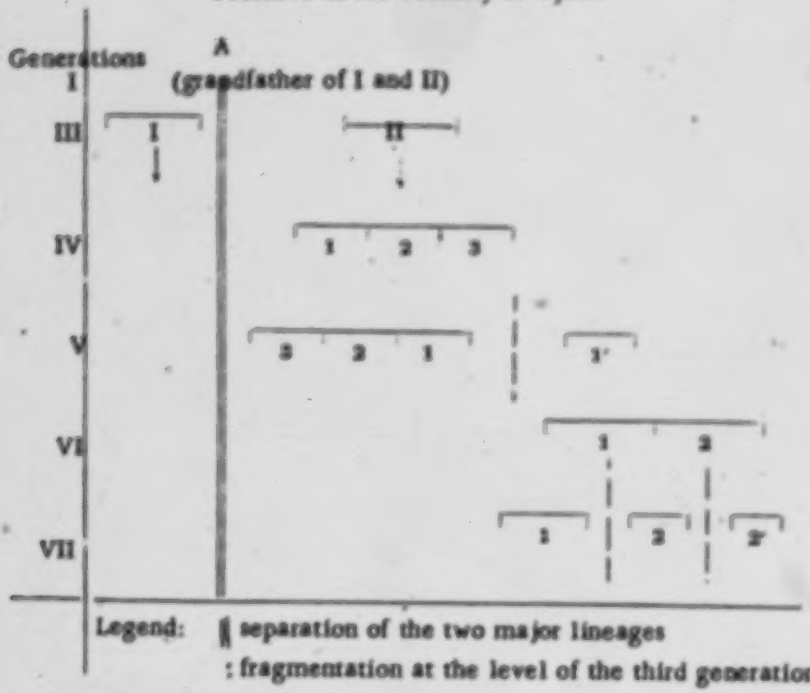
These observations show that the nd'è bòt is a true residential unit. They show how the cleavage becomes possible as soon as this unit reaches a certain size (a size, from the point of view of security and economic demands, making it viable as a separate unit); but the distance (in the sociological sense) between fragments varies

621
571
614

in terms of the circumstances which gave rise to the rupture and of the necessity to reserve eventual co-operation. The instability of the Fang village until recent times is certainly due to the nature of the old economy and to a poor capacity for disposition of land space, but also to a type of organization that does not permit (or permits badly) the control of large groupings. These have been made necessary only by lack of security.

Table VII

Yébimvé in the Vicinity of Oyem

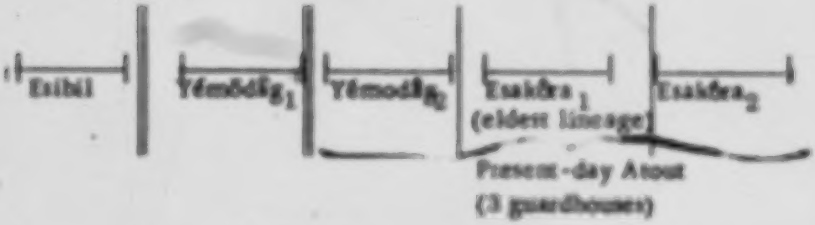


In the case of mixed villages where groupings belonging to different clans are found assembled together, usually following an administrative alteration of the population, instability appears to be more marked and distribution into definitely located nd'è bòt becomes a necessity. Such a grouping thus adds divisions which involves the co-existence of clan elements foreign to the

621 571 614 divisions already existing. This occurs even in the case of small villages. We give the example of Atout in Mitzic region founded by some Esibil to whom were added some Yémɔ̂dîg and some Esakôra.

Table VIII

Village of Atout



Legend: definitive separation

division into nd'ê bôt making up Atout.

The founding group and a large part of the Yémɔ̂dîg have already seceded; the Esakôra grouping has divided into two nd'ê bôt (the "elder" and the younger), which represent a first [136] phase of the relaxing of bonds, for this division is not necessitated by the as yet reduced size of the group.

The mixed villages -- called mfulana mɔ̂yɔ̂g, mixture of clans -- have necessitated the creation of an embryonic form of chefferie [French administrative district]; the recognition of an authority based outside "kinship." Thus, when a fairly large grouping is concerned, the chief is careful to settle apart and to have at his disposal a guardhouse other than the one in which the members of his nd'ê bôt assemble. But except for the attempts of the government to "construct" this chefferie, nothing justifies such an organization to maintain the cohesion of the village grouping it controls. The political problem -- Fang society has been classed among the "anarchies" or "stateless societies" -- in fact conditions

all future progress to the extent to which it allows (or does not allow) the maintenance of sufficiently large and stable village units.

Political Authority and Judicial Authority

Taking Fang society as an example, Dr. Cureau speaks of "a phenomenon of a stretching ... of the social bloc into a hierarchy based either on filiation or on intellectual and particularly moral superiority, both of which principles have their practical value according to the times." (1) He insists on a fact we have

1. Work already quoted, p. 332.

pointed out, the lack of a hierarchical organization, [with only] the simple existence of pre-eminences. The language itself gives proof of this fact by not having a special word to designate the chief, using ésa when the pre-eminence is in a way genealogical, nkuma when it is based on wealth, ẑoé (from ẑu, to say) when it justified by eloquence and the ability to command. By magnifying this statement, A. Cureau contrasts the Fang groupings with those of other peoples as being "anarchical tribes" as opposed to "organized tribes." He writes: "Authority is occasional and momentary ... Edvoughe has carried the votes in such-and-such a difficult palaver, the whole assembly obeys for a moment this ephemeral chief; tomorrow Nzokh will have succeeded Edvoughe in the leadership of opinion; here then the struggle against one and all takes place between constantly changing and constantly renewed contestants." (2)

2. Ibid., p. 326.

In a similar sense the informants of the Commission for [137] Historical Investigation assert that the chief was "in a word the one from whom the community expected the greatest services." (1)

1. Official report of the fifth session.

In the same vein there are continual complaints from administrators incapable of reviving the powerful traditional chefferies and of acting through their medium.

6:Alexandre and Binet--45 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

4. Towns

This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages. Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked. "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitzic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Études centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewondo or Bane country, although the former political institutions of the Ewondo and Bane seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, employees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit., house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewôndo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; nnôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôlé = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather jôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multi-clan, villages, miniam (sing. niam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The niam always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: ébolewo'o (Ebolowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

103 set up at a spot where the body of a chimpanzee had been found; menjikôm • from me nji kômbo, I did not want to, the founding family not having wanted to go any further. /Or the nlam may take its place name/ from a nickname or whimsical name: mañ • sea, the site being considered "as beautiful as the sea"; kamerûn • Kamerun, "because a white man told us that the country would be called thus henceforward; évunok • elephant's stomach, because of the appetite of its inhabitants, etc. It may also happen that a village name repeats that of its founder's native village, sometimes coupled with an indication like baa • second, mfelé • new, or with the name of its founder or chief, Méyo me Nkulu, the Méyo of Nkulu.

166 The leapfrog advance of small Pahouin groups at the time of the
• 621 invasion has already been described. Each of these groups generally
FR corresponded to a hamlet—jal—or to a village—nlam—or, rather, to the corresponding family units, nda bôt or mvôk. The migrating group retained rights to the abandoned site (bilik). Today the migration of whole villages is much less common. Rather, we are witnessing either a "swarming off" of villages that are overpopulated in relation to the amount of land available for plantations (in particular land near a vehicular road, especially in Cameroons), or a kind of explosion or social disintegration, /41/ the latter phenomenon being particularly noticeable among the Fang, where it has been well described by Balandier. Administrative action has often been a prime mover in the latest migrations: in Gabon, for instance, there has been an attempt to move whole villages for administrative, economic, or hygienic reasons, but in doing so collective groups have been broken up that had already been weakened by the disappearance of ancient defense needs and by the economic changes resulting from colonization. The new villages, often reconstituted without taking into account previous clan or family structures, no longer had any cohesion and split up into small rootless hamlets, poorly populated, continually moving their sites in disorderly fashion and usually seeking to escape contact with the administration. Since 1946, especially at the instance of the deputy, Aubame, himself a Fang, there has come into existence in Gabon a movement to regroup villages by clans, the results of which do not seem to have corresponded to the hopes of its promoters.

166 The situation is perceptibly different in the Cameroons, where the
621 early introduction of the cultivation of cacao (before 1914 in Ewôndo

country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense. Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (meñ), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, abeñ) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the meñ, the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ɓalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebiañ) as well as tobacco were grown in the central meñ. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia follioles (ɓaɗ, pl. aɓaɗ) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biɔm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebiañ), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekwil or Bekwi, to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes. The ethnic substantive Bekwil is simply the plural of a common noun, mvôl, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoñ), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans--reddish color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes--which might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evidence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle môt, of the adult and active men, benya bôtô, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya môtô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bôt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bôt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

63 insofar as he accepts an authority higher than that of the head of the
177 family a Pahouin is dependent upon the head of his ayon, who may live several hundred kilometers away. This authority had a sacred character and was based on laws of consanguinity. In addition, there were, even before the coming of the Europeans, other influences at work, tending to group people no longer on a basis of kinship but on that of local relations. Among the Fong of the Cameroons, for instance, as early as 1890, a chief had brought together under his control families that belonged to different clans and involved them in expeditions against Maka villages. From among the conquered he chose some young children for himself, brought them up, and saw them settled, creating thus, outside his consanguineal family, and even outside his tribe, a group of people devoted to his person.

Therefore, upon the power of the clan there was superposed an authority that assumed an interclan and even intertribal character. Among the Beti peoples of the Yaoundé region nearly the same system was in effect. The clans had more coherence than among the Fang or the Boulou. But the chief controlled, in addition to his own mvog, conquered families, belos or belos bitoa, to whom he assigned land along the margins of his domain.

The transition from a system of authority based on the law of consanguinity to a territorial one is already apparent.

In the face of Pahouin lack of political order, which nullified all attempts at organization, Europeans unconsciously tried to reinforce the trend toward a territorial system of authority.

[67] Since the period of the great invasions, in fact, the jus soli has been authenticated as a basis of authority, while /the application of/ the jus sanguinis involves a thousand difficulties and makes it almost impossible to govern.

By a curious paradox, nevertheless, the presence of Europeans favored legal principles opposed to those they might have desired. The tribal wars brought about a regrouping around the victor and enabled him to carve out a domain /seigneurie/. The chaotic Pahouin migrations strained clan ties: what family relationships can survive a lengthy separation, /129/ particularly when journeys are rare and dangerous? These factors would have brought about the creation of territorial entities. Peace, on the other hand, which allowed the resumption of relations, improved mobility, and per-
[62] mitted individual freedom, favored a return to the law of consanguinity; the individual person, whether young man or head of a

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177 family, had a profound sense of being a member of a community
621 scattered over several thousand square kilometers, whereas he did not
631 feel strongly bound to his neighbor who belonged to another ayoñ.

648 The German colonial administration divided the country up into
631 large chiefdoms as a solution to this difficult problem, a possible solution if the country had not been an ethnic as well as a clan maze. If the territory of the large tribes—Boulou, Bané, Ewondo, etc. — had been a little more homogeneous, it would have been conceivable to entrust each region to a chief, at a higher level than that of clan allotments. But the confusion of peoples and their wide dispersion made any solution precarious. Authority was not always accepted without demur, and among populations with anarchistic tendencies it is not easy to build up a ruling class /aristocratie/ sufficiently sure of itself not to perpetrate abuses. There was no time for the system of large appanages to take root. Chiefs of cantons and village chiefs both rule over more limited but clear-cut territories; as representatives of the principle of jus soli their influence view with that of the clan movements embodying the jus sanguinis.

631 In Gabon, Pahouin leaders had the idea of mingling the two
668 tendencies. Starting with the assumption that the villages were too small, they sanctioned a regrouping which would have allowed both stronger chiefdoms and a beginning of reassembling of clans.

The regrouping of the meyoñ does not seem to have been planned as a whole, nor does it seem that a territorial base had been thought of for each clan, which would have resolved, for the time being at least, the conflict between the law of things /droit réel/ and the law of persons /droit personnel/. Only a partial solution was considered: the establishment of large, single-clan villages (1). In

1. J. Aubame, Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/, Brazzaville, 1947 (no. 171); Balandier and Pauvert (no 177).

fact, and in spite of the endless difficulties connected with the transfer of population, the regrouping was able to give to the chiefdom a new prestige, by confirming its character as a territorial power on the one hand, and by binding it, on the other hand, to the meyoñ traditions. In the present state of affairs, cantons and even villages

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new
●621 village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting anf fishing grounds,
166 decaying huts, # disease decimating the children, the chief's
787 death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on, are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice; to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this
621 choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 All the men then come together in the middle of what will
621 be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he
769 will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the
782 totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyôn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyôn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyôn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyôn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akaméyón
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
[824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun
[822] or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
842] At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood, white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air.
[558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be
[824] abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.